171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [724] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of 411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the 535 kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, [721] when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-224 411 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried [683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 [439] [171] The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their 171 dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-411 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*unáka* or *áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatéraku*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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The eight living men (*marántxunkanera* or "killers") who had killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by clubbing them to death. *Kučanančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) generally die by violence, according to informants; women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few bananas".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campukwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[573] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants
[756] could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *marántxunkanéra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwí činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[827] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[30] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[881] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 521] (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairaho disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kančiwuni, Kamairaho's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairaho's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamaira's wife, "because her husband had killed Kantuowu's father".

[272 279] (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Karawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topi shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pankĕ) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[987] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[995] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[996] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related